5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

minimised alienation of Papuan land and controlled recruitment, payment of wages and the employer's treatment of labour.

No money was devoted to public education under Murray's rule. Social improvement programmes were largely confined to village inspections, at which law and order, hygiene and road maintenance were imposed by patrol officers under penalty of prison sentences. Hamlets were consolidated into larger villages, as these were easier to patrol. Villages were ordered, for their own good, to plant commercial tree crops.[10] Education was entrusted to the missions; health services were left either to missions or to employers. In 1919, a head tax was imposed upon the Papuans.

By a gentlemen's agreement between the Protestant denominations, a specified portion of the Territory of Papua was given to the exclusive pastoral care of each of them. North-East Papua, from Cape Dulcie to the German border, became Anglican territory. The centre of the mission was at Dogura, Milne Bay District, where the first Bishop of New Guinea, Montagu Stone-Wigg, established his court in 1898. That year, missionaries were sent to set up stations all along the coast of the diocese, at Cape Vogel, Manigela, Gona and as far north as the Mambare River.

The New Guinea Mission soon set about adding to its staff by building one more advanced school at Dogura, to which it sent the most promising students from the village schools, in the hope that these could be trained as priests and deacons. The Mission thus offered responsibility to Papuans very much earlier than any other White institution in the Territory. In 1967, the bishop of the Northern District diocese, as well as a number of priests and virtually all mission teachers were Papuans, often drawn from the Northern District tribes.

Experience with miners, government and mission in the Northern District led rather quickly to the emergence of adjustment cults, notably the Baigona and Taro Cults[11] arising respectively in 1912 and 1914. Though Worsley (1957: Ch. III) classifies them as non-millenarian, he recognises them as having been a political threat to the Australian authorities. Doctrines of unity, co-operation and comradeship between formerly hostile tribes were central to the Taro Cult. Cult leaders dissociated themselves from the Christian missions and claimed a special bond with Jesus Christ. Although the Northern District never developed cargo cults of the classical type, even in later years, there is a constant undercurrent of what one may call millennial thinking, which is of great concern to the government even today.

The Second World War. A new era in Papuan history began when the Japanese invaded New Guinea in January 1942 and, in June 1942, landed at Buna, in the Northern District, with the intention of crossing the Owen Stanley Range and taking Port Moresby. They were checked at the Kokoda Trail by Australian and American forces who by January 1943 drove them from the Paupan mainland. According to Lucy Mair the Japanese were not unpopular until they began to plunder gardens and round up pigs, a course to which they resorted when the Allied navy blocked their supply lines (Mair 1948: 199). The Orokaiva mostly took to the bush where they lived in temporary shelters and grew German taro.

Army administration introduced a new tone in human relations. Australian troops, in their dealings with Papuans, applied egalitarian attitudes prevalent in

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

TABLE II/8

ENROLMENT IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS OF THE ANGLICAN MISSION IN THE NORTHERN DISTRICT

(*Source*: Department of Education, Popondetta)

	1966	*1967 (Est.)*
Preparatory Classes	1,775	1,845
Standard 1	1,290	1,307
Standard 2	1,563	1,581
Standard 3	1,278	1,298
Standard 4	1,275	1,310
Standard 5	693	708
Standard 6	488	498
Total	8,362	8,547

Note: Some schools offered classes up to Standard 2, some up to Standard 3, some up to Standard 4, while only a few schools offered classes beyond that level. Children unable to obtain transfers to schools offering classes at a higher level might stay at school for a year or more after finishing the highest available grade. This explains the unusual statistical pattern.

development. By 1967 two important moves had been made: the arterial road between Buna and Kokoda was being rebuilt and linked to the main coffee-producing villages by a system of access roads, built with the assistance of taxes raised in villages.

The educational services have not, so far, been very closely integrated with economic development goals. Many of the schools in the Northern District are conducted by the Mission. While the objectives of many of the Mission schools are still primarily religious, and the teaching staff has only rudimentary training, some of them do prepare students for further education at the secondary level, and provide recruits for skilled occupations. The Sasembata school attended by Sivepe children falls within that category. Chances of passing a qualifying examination for secondary schooling are good and from that point adequate financial assistance is usually available to students. Villages such as Hohorita and Inonda, lacking such opportunities, and having access to only two or three years of elementary schooling, cannot hope to have any but the brightest students advance to secondary education. As the language of instruction is English in all schools, those who do not advance beyond elementary grades do not become acquainted with concepts relevant to development objectives.[12]

Local Government Council. The Higaturu Local Government Council, formed in 1956, serves about 15,000 Orokaiva, comprising the Popondetta, Sohe-Popondetta and Saiho census divisions. In 1966 the main activities of the

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

Orokaiva Coffee-Grower Society, a producers' co-operative formed for the purpose.

The Council is made up of twenty-six Orokaiva members who are paid a monthly stipend. However, in practice a government adviser attached to the Council appears to determine policy. Indigenous attitudes to the Council are analysed in detail in Schwimmer 1967. Together with the Coffee Society, it has offered the Orokaiva some political participation and the importance of this new departure is vividly recognised by the people.

The New Age. Since the Second World War, a great many ideas from the outside world have been communicated to the Orokaiva. I have already mentioned economic, and some political ideas; in addition, the Anglican mission began to attract many converts, especially after the Mount Lamington disaster. By 1964, the great majority of Orokaiva were baptised.

The establishment of the House of Assembly in Port Moresby, giving limited powers of political decision to Papuan representatives elected by universal suffrage, has introduced new patterns in village life: meetings with the local member, with other candidates, and with organisers acting for these candidates and presenting political argument. The personnel of the local government council tends to be deeply committed in national politics and to talk about political affairs when visiting villages.

During such discussions, the Orokaiva are beginning to learn that an end to Australian rule is conceivable and that they will have some voice in decisions relating to the independence of their own country. They fully recognise that this makes an immediate difference to the balance of power between themselves and

TABLE II/10

EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONAL EXPERIENCE OF THE JEGASE AND SEHO CLANS OF SIVEPE COMPARED – ADULT MALES ONLY

Approximate Period	*Education*		*Occupational Experience*	
	Seho	*Jegase*	*Seho*	*Jegase*
Nil	6	6	4	5
1 year	–	1	1	2
2 years	–	2	1	–
3 years	–	1	–	–
4 years	–	2	–	2
5 years	–	–	–	1
6 years	–	1	–	–
7 years			–	–
8 years			–	–
Over 8 years			–	4
Data vague	2	1	2	–
Total	8	14	8	14

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

222 4 Orokaiva: *tauga*; botanical: *cycas media*; Orokaiva: *puga*; botanical: *terminalia okaria*. There are two varieties of breadfruit, called *oga* and *eumba*. They are both somewhat unusual but I failed, in spite of sending samples, to obtain indentifications.

241 5 Details of garden production are given in Table II/3. Rainfall at Sivepe and Inonda is shown in Rimoldi 1966:109; Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:100.

342 6 A plan of a contemporary Orokaiva house is shown in Fig. 3. Recent changes in house design, house construction and domestic amenities are summarised in Table II/4.

462 7 See Tables II/5 and II/6. Williams' data are taken from an unpublished manuscript and appeared first in Schwimmer 1969:226. I have discussed the Orokaiva division of labour in more detail in Schwimmer 1969: 145–50 and explained the apparent discrepancies between Williams' table and Waddell's and Krinks' statistics.

439 437 8 Crocombe and Hogbin (1963) provide a list of prices prevailing in this trade. They report that there is still some trade in shell ornaments from the coast and in feathers for head dresses from the mountains. Informants at Eroro, on the coast near Buna, gave me details of their traditional trade with Managalasi of the nearby mountains. A Sivepe man who has hunting rights to land near Ajoro goes there to hunt birds and sell the feathers. His chances of finding any of the more valuable birds near Sivepe are remote. The difference in Sivepe and Inonda patterns (i.e. the foothills and the alluvial plains) appears from the data in Table II/7. It will be seen that Sivepe stock is to a far greater extent inherited, whereas Inonda stock is to a far greater extent acquired through brideprice (value $13), barter (value $21.60) and other exchanges (value $13.70).

439 438 437 9 Dr. Waddell has provided a detailed statistical table of the geographical distribution of subsistence produce (Waddell and Krinks 1968:218). This table provides clear and detailed information on the geographical range of the Sivepe exchange network. A full descriptive account may be found in Schwimmer 1969: 41–69.

648 10 An interesting picture of this period of Orokaiva history is drawn in Beaver, 1916.

795 11 Full information on these cults will be found in Chinnery and Haddon (1917) and Williams (1928). If has escaped previous commentators that Bia, who started the taro cult, was employed for some years by Monckton, and participated in various punitive enterprises with an alacrity most pleasing to his master. He was described in Monckton's books in rather revealing detail (e.g. 1921: 185, 268, 269, 295, 308; 1922: 10, 13, 65, 136, 172, 214, 216). For the present relationship between the Orokaiva and the missions, see Schwimmer 1969; 123–33.

871 872 797 657 648 12 The general subject of Orokaiva economic development since 1951 is very fully covered in numerous bulletins published by the New Guinea Research Unit from 1963 to the present, and also in Schwimmer 1969. A general indication of the investments in socio-economic development is given by a table of public expenditure in the territory of Papua for the years ended 30 June 1961 to 1965 (Commonwealth of Australia: *Annual Report of the Territory of Papua for the period 1 July 1964 to 30 June 1965*, 179). The growing emphasis on educational services is perhaps the most notable aspect. Table II/8 indicates the pattern of school attendance. Table II/9 summarises the activities of the Higaturu Local Government Council; roads, water supplies and clinics are perhaps the projects most relevant to development.

101 13 The three villages have been sketched in figures 4, 5 and 6. Education and occupational experience at Sivepe and Hohorita are analysed in Tables II/10 and II/11.

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

include gifts to persons of the same household? It would have been easy enough to lay down a rule that this kind of gift should be excluded from the survey and nor mentioned by informants, but I decided that it was not for me to start defining to the Orokaiva what was meant by a phrase like *ba ikari* 'to give taro'. Evidently food given to household members was, in certain circumstances, regarded as a gift. I recorded a total of 265 such 'transactions' from fourteen households during the survey period. Among those who mentioned such 'transactions' were some of my most helpful informants. At the beginning of the survey, household members were only sporadically mentioned but the number of mentions increased as the survey proceeded, until a pattern emerged.[2] A gift of food from wife to husband was never mentioned. A gift to a household member other than a natural or adopted child of one or both of the marriage partners was always included. Married daughters and sons old enough to live in a bachelor's house were always included. What confused informants most was how to regard gifts to younger sons and daughters.

Some parents included their children if they were old enough to be of school age. Others included the boys if they had gone through the 'birthday' ceremony which nowadays takes the place of initiation and included the boys if they had been through puberty seclusion. Others again did not include their dependent children at all. There was no uniform pattern. I ascribe the confusion to two factors: first, it used to be customary for children to start working in the garden at a very early age, doing whatever was within their capacity and making some contribution to the household economy. Boys would be given their own small garden plots at an early age and their sisters would fulfil some feminine tasks (planting, harvesting) in these plots. When schooling became general in the district, the children ceased making that kind of contribution. Secondly, school 'lunches' were mostly taken by the children every morning and eaten on the school grounds. These lunches were identical in form to the intra-village taro gifts: they were a meal of cooked taro cooked by the mother and taken out of the home.

Intra-household taro gifts were reported to me in too inconsistent a fashion to permit statistical analysis, but they were interesting as they revealed the household to be, in itself, a minuscule exchange system. This system was intact to a greater extent in Hohorita, where schooling ends at grade 3, than in Sivepe where adolescents are mostly at school rather than in the garden. At Hohorita adolescents grew and (if they were females) harvested vegetable food, gave this to their mothers, and their mothers fed and looked after them. The same principle applied in Sivepe to adults living with their adult and married children, brothers or sisters. Even very old men and women do what gardening they can to make a contribution. The record shows, in the case of some of these old people, that they made hardly any contribution at all during the survey period. As this was a period when taro was becoming scarce, their small gardens were exhausted, but a few months later some of them would again have crops of their own.

Most of the older people who thus depended on gifts for their sustenance were not fed by one household only, though usually one household bore most of the burden. However, wherever there was a helpless old person, there were always at least two regularly contributing households in addition to the one to which that person was attached. We must distinguish, among the Orokaiva,

651 proceeds to be retained by the government was paid into the [241] Native Taxation Account (which was composed of revenue from head tax and native plantations). Average annual government revenue from the plantations was £1,082 and from head tax £14,003. After costs of collection had been met the balance remaining in the Native Taxation Account was transferred to two funds which were entitled, somewhat inaccurately, the Native Education Fund and the Native Benefits Fund.

657 Hulling, marketing and administrative costs incurred 241 in running the plantations scheme were paid from the Native [871] Education Fund. The same fund provided a coffee pulping machine for each of the plantations which was more than about two hours walk from Higaturu, the produce of the closer gardens being pulped at Higaturu Station. In fact no money was spent directly on native education in the Northern District, though some small subsidies were granted to mission schools. The Native Benefits Fund provided for the salary of a Government Anthropologist, medical services, bonuses to large families and other miscellaneous expenses. Only about a quarter of the money in the two funds was spent on education (all in the form of subsidies) and much was simply left to accumulate. When the war broke out there was an unspent balance of £26,199 in [651] the Native Education Fund. The whole plantations scheme (including Native Education and Native Benefits) was administered by the Director of Native Taxation.

465 The producer's half of the income from the coffee was paid, not on delivery, but at the end of each year. The [211] official in charge of the scheme visited each village to make the payments. The ordinance required that payment was to be made in proportion to days worked and, as the village constable who was in charge of the plantation was almost invariably illiterate, some of them kept an "attendance stick" for each man. A notch was cut in the stick for each day of absence other than that caused by illness or the death of a close relative. When the government officer visited the village to make the payments the constable produced the attendance stick of each [212] man as he came up for payment. Some constables relied on memory to inform government officers of absentees, but the few literate ones (e.g. at Sombo) were provided with attendance books.

C2| obscure any important differences in structure and our historical
36| data are not complete enough to permit of consistent distinctions,
[162] according to size, between 'hamlets' and 'villages'. The village
[232] of Sivepe now has a population of 120 and is linked with Binduta, several hundred yards away, and with Mahihita half a mile away, to form a unit in Administration censuses. The 3 villages, together with Awala No.2,[1] form a local government council electorate.

13| Sivepe is situated on the western bank of the Sohu River, a
49| tributary of the Kumusi River, about 25 miles by road south-west
[133] of Popondetta and roughly 7 miles north-west of the crater of Mt Lamington. It is on a jeep road leading from Kendata, high on the Mt Lamington slopes, to Awala, which lies 3¼ miles north of Sivepe on the Kokoda-Popondetta road. The minor road was constructed in about 1944 following the route of an old track. Between Awala and Sivepe it is marked by the sites of 9 abandoned villages, first visible indication of the history of close settlement on the country it traverses.

797| There were very few facilities for formal education in this
● 871| tribal area until shortly after the second world war when a number of mission schools, staffed by Papuan teachers, were established through the area and 'minor elementary education was brought to over 90% of children of a varied age range' (Belshaw 1951:2).

An Anglican Mission primary school was established at Sasembata, 1 mile south of Sivepe, in 1945 and a European teacher has been on the staff since 1951; 9 of the 13 children of approximately school age in the group we studied now attend.[2] Some children from Sivepe are pupils at Martyrs' Anglican Mission school several miles away at Agenahambo. A primary T school[3] was established at Awala in 1961 but no Sivepe children are pupils there.

Several villagers regularly attend the church at Sasembata, which is in the charge of a Papuan priest, and most make periodic use of the medical services provided by the mission sister. Some women consult an infant welfare clinic formerly available at the mission on alternate Tuesdays and some have joined a women's sewing class held on Wednesdays.

---

[1] To be distinguished from Awala 2, the 'hamlet group'.

[2] The ages of pupils in the 4 grades would range roughly from 5 to 15 years.

[3] A government school for Papuans at which the curriculum is adjusted to the needs or sophistication of the local pupils - as distinct from primary A schools, attended almost wholly by European children, where the syllabus is set by the N.S.W. Department of Education.

461 recorded every afternoon, when each able-bodied adult was asked
125 how he had distributed his working hours. Of the population of 50, 25 were able-bodied persons over the age of 16.[1] These fall into 2 distinct categories according to age. Seven householders are between the ages of 45 and 65 years, and the other 5 between 25 and 35 years of age. There were no younger men or boys over 15 years in the village. Five of the women were aged 45 or more, 5 were between 25 and 30, and 3 younger women whose husbands were absent in employment, were staying with their kin in the village. One Jegase woman was a total cripple.

857 Nine of the 24 children attend school and 11 are 5 years of age
[871] or under. The rest, 2 boys and 2 girls in the 10-15 age group gave only intermittent assistance in garden work. The boys would often go hunting but were not engaged in productive work as regularly as their elders. The girls had a relatively heavy schedule of domestic chores.

592 The household containing a nuclear family is the basic unit of production and consumption. Members of an expanded family usually make their gardens on adjacent plots and the men usually co-operate in the heavier clearing work. Its members usually travel together
[462] to their gardens, but each household then cultivates its garden alone. Apart from the harvesting, which is the task of women, the division of labour between sexes in gardening activities seems to be flexible in each household. Women assist in clearing undergrowth for new gardens and men join them in planting and weeding. It will be seen from Table 4 that men spent nearly as much time as the women in subsistence gardening during our survey. A

342 House-building is carried out generally by the householder and
476 any adult sons, with only occasional assistance from a neighbour
[462] or another kinsman. Wives sometimes help to prepare materials such as sago thatch for the roof.

[824] Larger work-groups than these are seldom mobilized for subsis-
[461] tence activities.[2] One or 2 men can readily clear enough secondary growth for their own needs and little co-operation is

---

1 Included among these were 1 man whose activity was restricted by tuberculosis, and another very old man. However, both maintained their own gardens.

2 E. Waddell (personal communication) suggests that assistance with house-building is not 'occasional' but 'considerable' especially with making roofs; he also points out that large work-groups are assembled for harvesting yams (which do not need to be left in the ground for storage). Neither type of co-operation was in evidence during our short survey of work patterns.

A, [See Category 461, p. 28--Analyst]

464
166

6. Employment

Ten people who are siblings or sons of the householders in the 2 subclans are absent from the village. Eight are employed in other districts of Papua as clerks, policemen or technicians. Two men, a single man and a widower, have left to work elsewhere in the district.

Five of the 10 absentees are the youngest sons in their families but their absence does not seem to be directly attributable to a heavy demand on their families' land resources. Those who have left the district are people who had the advantage of local education facilities which were not available formerly and they hold semi-skilled positions which offer more prospects of permanent employment than most of the present householders had.

[87]

Only 5 adults in the sample, 2 men and 3 women, have had any formal education. One of the men attended school for 4 years, the other for only 1 year. Five of the 7 householders in the 45-65 age group were employed outside the district on European plantations for 2-3 years before the war, 3 of them as rubber tappers. These men served a total of 7 years as carriers during the war. Apart from the years of service as a paid village official or local government councillor only 2 of them have taken work since the war - 6 months each as casual labourers on a plantation near Popondetta. The 2 other householders of this age have never had paid work. The men between 25 and 35 years have spent an average of 7 years in employment outside the village as against the older men's 3 years.

464

The frequency and duration of the younger men's terms in employment are set out in Table 9.

Table 9

Years spent in employment

Household No.	From date of first employment until birth of first child			Since birth of first child		
	Total years	Years in employment	No. of jobs	Total years	Years in employment	No. of jobs
1. (e2J)	5	3.5	3	4	Nil	Nil
2. (d10J)	5	3	3	11	2.5	3*
3. (d11J)	13	9	4	No children**		
4. (e5T)	10	8	5	6	1	2
5. (e1T)	4	3	2	14	6	7

*Householder took further employment soon after our survey.
**Householder had child by first wife but lives elsewhere; he is still employed.

8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 QJ23 Orokaiva QJ23

principal mission stations were located at Gona, Eroro, Popondetta, Agenahambo, Eiwo and Sasembata. There are now few people not within walking distance of a church or primary school[1] or accessible to a priest or deacon.

The Christian Co-operative Movement has been the mission's only commercial venture in the area. It was initiated at Gona in 1946 and comprised a number of small, village-based co-operatives. The Rev. Alfred Clint was recruited specifically to organise these, and his activities led to their rapid growth among the Orokaiva,[2] the collection of large sums of money and the appearance of many informal societies. As the scheme was primarily concerned with the production of annual crops - rice, peanuts and traditional food crops - large gardens, frequently exceeding twenty acres, were established and worked communally.

In 1947 DASF established a station at Popondetta and attempted to legalise and supervise the development of the movement. A variety of new crops, including oranges, mandarins, pomelos, tomatoes and cucumbers, were introduced through the station by free distributions of seeds.

Despite early enthusiasm no societies survived beyond 1953. This was due partly to loss of the leaders at a critical stage, partly to the fact that whereas Rev. Alfred Clint stressed the Christian aspects of the movement and viewed the introduced crops largely as a means of dietary improvement, the people sought economic advancement, particularly cash income. Moreover, appropriate processing equipment and outlets for the rice were not provided. Cult and protest aspects in the movement have also been identified[3] and a lack of achievement in this context might also have hastened its dissolution.

The role of the mission has been essentially that expressed by the Dominical command - 'Go preach, teach, baptise'.[4] Schooling and evangelism were closely related and only since 1947 have real efforts been made to improve the quality of secular education.[5]

---

[1] Belshaw (1951a:2) estimated that more than 90 per cent of the children over a varied age range were receiving some sort of elementary education.

[2] Rev. Alfred Clint's movement is described in detail in Dakeyne 1966a. The first co-operatives to be registered in Papua-New Guinea were the Yega, Gona, Garara and Buna co-operatives, all in 1949.

[3] Belshaw 1951b:250; Crocombe 1964:29-30.

[4] See Cooldrake 1964:1-6.

[5] Initially by attempts to standardise the syllabus and subsequently by drawing increasingly on syllabuses prepared by the Administration's Department of Education.

491 station with Boru on the main road near Awala and passing within a
[499] mile of Sivepe, but it was not completed by the onset of the wet
season. It was intended that this would be used by the OCGS and
[361] other purchasers of produce. This was the main reason for the
Sivepe people's decision to move their village to a site within
200 yards of Sasembata mission station.

797 Sasembata mission is a head station of the Anglican mission.
[743] Among its facilities are a church, administered by an Orokaiva
priest, a hospital and infant welfare clinic run by a Papuan
[871] medical orderly but supervised from the Administration hospital
at Saiho, and a primary school with 400 children on the roll.[1]
The school includes classes up to Standard V and is headed by an
Australian with the assistance of ten Papuan teachers. A small
trade store is operated by Oro Ltd at Kongohambo village adjoining
the mission station.

621 Sivepe itself is laid out as a line village, with lineage
members tending to occupy adjoining houses (see Map 4). The houses
[342] have a mean size of 229 sq ft and are built entirely of local
materials, with the exception of nails which are now commonly used.

[125] Three clan branches are represented in the village and two of
these, the Jegase and Timumu clans,[2] comprised the survey sample
(55.3 per cent of the total village population of 114 in January
1964), the characteristics of which reveal them to be representative
of the population as a whole.[3]

166 The population of the sample declined by 20.6 per cent, from 63
464 to 50 persons, over the survey period. Ten of the 17 departures
migrated to other villages and the rest sought wage employment
within the district or in Port Moresby. This continuing out-
migration intensified certain characteristics of the village's
labour force, for by January 1965, 37.8 per cent of the potential
adult male labour force was absent, the majority on a long-term
basis in unskilled or semi-skilled work or low-ranking positions
in government service.[4] In three cases, wives and children remained
in the village and were supported by close kin. In January 1965,
there were only two men remaining in the 20 to 34 years age groups.

---

[1] An estimated 80 per cent of the children in the area receive some schooling.

[361] [2] Clansmen also reside in twelve other villages, all within a radius of 3.7 miles of Sivepe.

[3] See Appendix 1 and Fig. 4:1.[A]

[4] See Appendix 2.[B]

A, [See Category 163, p. 307--Analyst]

B, [See Category 162, p. 39--Analyst]

C, [See Category 166, p. 308--Analyst]

The average size of households[1] is 4.5 persons, otherwise expressed as 2.4 labour units.[2] Of the fifteen households in the sample at the beginning of the survey, only four had individual holdings of cash crops and one man started a holding during the survey (coffee in all cases). Everybody had rights of access to a communal rubber plantation which was tapped by individuals on a rota system.

Most household heads have worked for wages as unskilled or semi-skilled labour (plantation workers, rubber tappers, domestic servants and labourers for the Australasian Petroleum Company). The highest level of education reached by any householder was standard II.[3] Standard IV is the highest level attained within the sample (including children), although one absentee completed standard VI at a government school at Kokoda.

Although the sample includes the local government councillor for Sivepe and the adjoining villages of Binduta and Awala, he only recently arrived in the village and exerts limited authority.[4] The village as a whole possesses no universally accepted spokesman or leader[5] and the repeated failure of communal ventures[6] may be related to this fact.

Economic holdings

Within the subsistence sector, a key factor in the pattern of exchanges is the fluctuating resources of particular foodstuffs in production at a given time in a given household: when an individual has no producing taro he is dependent on others, when he has excess he distributes. Significantly, at the time of the survey of

---

[1] For the purposes of this survey, a household is a group of people gardening, cooking, eating and budgeting together. It is basically the nuclear family, perhaps including unmarried kin or widowed or divorced parents (although these may operate as independent households). The household invariably resides under a single roof. Cases of two households living together occur and their frequency in Inonda helps explain the larger mean size of house.

[2] Labour units were calculated on the following basis:

Age	5-9 years	10-14	15-19	20-44	45+
Male	0.1	0.3	0.8	1.0	0.8
Female	0.2	0.4	0.7	0.8	0.6

[3] See Appendix 1.4

[4] See Rimoldi 1966:55-6.

[5] One man, adopted into Timumu clan, is asserting himself increasingly through his generosity, organising ability and industriousness.

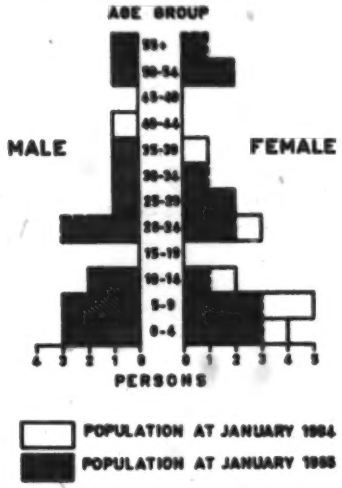
[6] See pp.44-5 and Rimoldi 1966:84, 107-8.

A. [See Category 871, p. 307--Analyst]

S: Waddell & Krinks B-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

FIGURE 4:2

INONDA: AGE-SEX STRUCTURE
SHOWING NET CHANGES JANUARY 1964-JANUARY 1965



GZ1 non-agnatic ties have led to close relationships with people in Ajoro, Sewa, Mosou, Urio, Jonita and Hohorita.

463 As in Sivepe, most of the men have had labouring jobs and two had also been teachers for the Anglican mission - one for 27 years, the other for 6 years, including 4 in New Britain.

871 Three household heads, all over 40 years of age, have had no education. One household head and one woman reached standard V and the woman's husband completed standard IV. Two young men, one a household head, served as farmer trainees at Popondetta Agricultural Station, and another completed eleven months of the course at the aid post orderly training school at Saiho.

554 In addition to his six years with the Anglican mission, one of the ex-teachers, a man of 35, was for two years local government

The one age group not considered in the survey is children. Customarily the parents delegate various tasks to them as they get older, but the current picture is somewhat complicated by the fact that over 80 per cent of all children in the area receive at least a few years' primary schooling. Since the type of education provided has little direct bearing on village life or economy it is not uncommon for such children to profess some disdain for village tasks and the extent to which they assist their elders frequently depends upon the degree of parental authority. Children up to the age of about ten years normally play around the village in the morning and evening, going down to the creek during the hottest part of the day, when they might do a little fishing. If they accompany their parents to the garden they are left in the garden shelter or under the shade of a tree and the older ones are directed to look after the younger. Otherwise the only jobs they appear to do regularly are fetching water and tending the fire, although the older girls are given such household tasks as washing dishes and also attending to infants. Boys over the age of about ten years may hunt, build traps in the forest and do some of the more hazardous jobs like scaling trees for green coconuts, while both they and the girls are called upon to assist in pulping coffee. For those attending school, most of these activities are restricted to the weekends and holidays; even then they may resist their parents' requests for assistance, preferring instead to do a little hunting or fishing for their own amusement or to picnic together.

561 [871] 857

<u>The weekly pattern, daily routine and duration of activities</u>

It is customary for ethnographic surveys to devote a section to the description of a typical working day and, in its treatment of the Orokaiva, Williams' account (1930:21-31) is no exception. What he considers to be a normal routine comprises an early breakfast from the cold remnants of the previous evening's meal followed by the departure of family groups to their gardens where they pursue their various tasks. By noon these are completed and most families are back in the village to rest in their houses for an hour or two. 'The real activity of the village commences at about three o'clock' with the preparation of the evening meal by the women, the men meanwhile restricting themselves to sedentary tasks or conversation. This is eaten near nightfall and a period of conversation or informal entertainment follows until everybody retires to sleep. Such a routine may be modified by climate, ceremonial activities and the occasional demands of the Administration and recruiters.

512

Regardless of whether the daily routine in the 1920s fully conformed to Williams' description, the present pattern is substantially different, not only for those activities which are directly related to the increased commercialisation of the economy and interaction

512 178

8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 QJ23 Orokaiva QJ23

Appendix 1

Sivepa and Iaunde: characteristics of the samples

(i) Demographic

	January 1964	Births	Deaths	Arrivals	Departures	January 1965	Net change
Iaunde	35	nil	nil	3	7	31	-11.4%
Sivepa							
Village	114	3	2	3	20*	98	-14.0%
Sample	63	2	1	3	17	50	-20.6%

(ii) Household

	No.	Size		Labour units		With individual cash crop holdings
		Average	Range	Average	Range	
Iaunde	9	3.9	1-6	2.0	0.8-3.4	4**
Sivepa						
Village	23	5.0	1-10	2.5	0.0***-4.5	10†
Sample	14	4.5	1-7	2.4	0.8-3.8	4†

(iii) Educational experience of the sample household heads

	None	Prep. to Std I	Std II to Std IV	Std V to Std VII	Std VIII plus	Agricultural training	Technical training
Iaunde	3	2	1	1	nil	1	1
Sivepa	9	4	1	nil	nil	nil	nil

(iv) Work experience of the sample household heads

	Under 1	1-1.9	2-2.9	3-4.9	Period†† 5-6.9	7-9.9	10-14.9	15-19.9	20 and over
Iaunde	1	1	nil	2	3	nil	nil	1	1†††
Sivepa	3	1	1	3	2	1	1	nil	2‡

* Eleven (55 per cent) moved to other villages, the balance sought wage employment either within the District or in Port Moresby.

** One man planted 200 coffee trees during 1964.

*** An aged widow.

† However, all villagers have access to a communal rubber plantation, tapped on a rota basis.

†† An expression of the number of years in paid work (where unskilled) multiplied by 1.5 (where skilled but without responsibility) and multiplied by 2.0 (where skilled with responsibility).

††† This man served 27 years as a mission teacher and has a total 'work value' of 62.

‡ Both served as village officials (either village constable or local government councillor) for many years.

163 164 166 842 911 464

Kokoda. The invasion brought a much higher degree of cultural contact and upheaval by both the occupation of the Japanese and the counter-occupation by the Australian forces. Another dramatic upheaval took place in 1951 when Mt Lamington erupted, killing some 4,000 Orokaivas and Europeans. This caused a mass evacuation from the traditional home villages and the temporary settlement in collective camps outside the declared contaminated area. The temporary resettlement caused much friction (Keesing 1951).

Mission influence is strong in the Northern District. This is provided almost exclusively by the Anglican church and is of a fairly orthodox nature. Mission influence is mixed somewhat with traditional beliefs and there is an air of mysticism about the resultant religious system. Education is predominantly through a system of mission schools, partly financed by the Government Department of Education. The schools are staffed by both European and Orokaiva teachers and use an approved syllabus. The teachers are dedicated but often not substantially better educated than their pupils. Many of the Papuan teachers are educated only to Standard 4.

There is currently some covert aggression towards the European settlers, some of whom reciprocate in a more overt manner. The history of European contact has not always been happy. Frequent misunderstanding and misinterpretation by both sides has led to strained social relations in many cases. The initial settlement of Europeans in the area resulted in bloodshed and ill-feeling. Early miners and police both had cause to fear the Orokaiva. Later government attempts to enforce cash cropping met strong resistance in some areas. The Japanese invasion and its subsequent defeat led to many confusing and bewildering Orokaiva deaths. Since the last war there has been some improvement of the race relations - but they are still basically seen in some type of dominance relationship, e.g., master - labourer, teacher - pupil, etc. The Anglican church has ordained a few priests and in general has congenial relations with the Orokaiva, yet this does not necessarily suggest a closer empathy with or understanding of the people. The Orokaiva regard some resident Europeans as welcome and fairly warmly received and others as being unwelcome trespassers. More Europeans appear to be in the latter category than is generally realized.

Like any enclave in a foreign country the European settlers attribute stereotyped characteristics of personality and temperament to particular local groups. This process of one group classifying another into psychological types provides a working basis for interaction. The Orokaiva were quickly allotted a stereotype and this came to be reinforced as the ascribed characteristics were searched for and found. The Orokaiva were classed as being 'surly', 'resentful', 'sulking', 'good policemen but need

121 From the results in the previous section two important facts
153 are evident. Firstly, there is a difference in cognitive ability between the seven samples and, secondly, there is a definite relationship between productivity and cognitive ability.

153 The analysis in Table 6 indicates that the majority of the variation between the samples is caused by the high test scores of the Beporo sample and by the low test scores of the Ongoho sample. The Beporo sample has significantly higher test scores than any of the other samples and the Ongoho sample has significantly lower scores than any other sample except for the Sivepe sample. In the latter case, although there is a difference in the mean or average test score of 4.25, this fails to reach the required significance level and the variation within each of these samples is too large to warrant any conclusion that there is a fundamental difference, although there is a trend in this direction.

The only other difference that is significant is between the ex-servicemen settlers sample and the Sivepe sample. The difference in mean test scores here is 6.90. There are differences between the other samples but these do not reach the required level of significance to be certain that these differences are, in fact, real.

The question then arises as to why the Beporo sample is better than all the others and why the Ongoho sample is poorer than all the others except one. It is not within the scope of this paper
[797] to discuss the possibilities that cause this effect. It is interest-
177 ing to note that the village of Beporo is situated beside the Gona
[871] Mission which was established approximately sixty years ago. On the other hand, the Ongoho sample have had very little schooling and only one person had spent any time at school. There is an indication that education may have had some influence on the development of these people.

It had often been suggested to the author that people from Beporo were amongst the best workers in the district. The people from Ongoho, on the other hand, have experienced a long history of failures in attempts at communal cash cropping and other ventures. They have not established a clear reputation as they have not participated as fully in the plantation economy as many other villages.

Thus the Beporo people have a record of success and the Ongoho people one of failure. It is suggested that the ability to perform well in the plantation economy may be related not so much to particular opportunities but more to the cognitive ability of the people.

This is brought out more forcibly in the second finding, i.e., the relationship of higher productivity with higher test scores.

The finances of the store were under continual surveillance both by the local inspector and by the Assistant Registrar of Co-operatives in Port Moresby to whom regular reports were submitted by the inspector. A general reserve fund was maintained and was fully invested. Provision for depreciation was made every six months; this money was banked so that the provision of a new store building would be possible within about ten years.

The Cape Killerton store operated as a normal retail trading store but over three quarters of its business was conducted with its shareholders. In January 1963 there were 578 shareholders in the Gona villages co-operative store, of whom 108 (19 per cent) were Yega people. Yega shareholders purchased 34 per cent of all goods sold[1] while non-shareholders bought 13.5 per cent.[2]

The high rate of spending of Yega shareholders relative to the total membership was because the Yega people live nearest to the store at distances ranging from nil to four miles, and because the Yega probably received a higher cash income than the other groups.

The Yega had since the early 1930s been within walking distance of one of the best mission schools in the Northern District, with a European teacher permanently on the staff. In consequence young Yega men, who almost without exception left the villages to enter paid employment, were able to obtain skilled and semi-skilled jobs. In a sample group of 18 such wage-earners interviewed, the average remittance to relatives and friends in the village during 1962 was $110 p.a. As 40 per cent of the adult male work force was absent in wage-employment, a considerable amount of cash was being injected into the Yega economy. In addition, some Yega obtained a regular cash income from produce sold in Popondetta market (see Dakeyne 1965:102 ff.).

Expansion of membership in the G.V.N.S. Co-operative had almost ceased in 1964: 561 members in 1958 increased to 578 in 1961. As a branch store was opened at Buna in 1962, effective shareholder support for the Killerton store seemed likely to diminish. In any event there could be no major increase in shareholder numbers among the Yega, for nearly every adult Yega man resident in the area was already a shareholder in the co-operative. The bulk of the store's business was done with its shareholders but non-shareholding friends, such as members of a shareholder's family or visitors from the towns, were asked by shareholders to use their share numbers when making

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 67]

[1] Calculated from the rebates given in December 1962.

[2] Calculated on the basis of sales for the months October-December 1962.

CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTORY

Location and facilities

131 Inonda is situated about eleven miles from Popondetta on the Oro Bay road. Up to the present, access to Popondetta has been dependent on the state of the Girua river but with the completion of a bridge later this year all-weather access will be ensured. Inonda lies within the Orokaiva culture area and is served by the Higaturu Local Government Council. Administration patrols visit the village once or twice annually.

368 [811] [787] The nearest school is about six miles away across the river at Hohota. Some children attend this school spasmodically and a few board at church schools at Popondetta or Embi. Others do not go to school at all. There is an Anglican church in the village though it is little used except when an itinerant priest happens to be passing by.

130 [366] 139 Kerosene, tobacco, sugar, salt and other household requirements are usually purchased from a small trade store about three miles distant but larger purchases are made in Popondetta. There are four main items of traditional trade which appear to follow particular routes. As betel nuts do not grow well in Inonda these are bartered or purchased from inland tribes (usually through relatives) and the lime which is chewed with them is acquired from the coast. Traditional valuables (hambo) are acquired most frequently by barter with the coastal people, but birds' feathers for making head-dresses (di) are obtained from the Managalas tribes in the mountains in exchange for dogs, money and other items. The advent of shotguns has reduced the trade in feathers to those of birds of paradise and other relatively rare species. In bygone days clay pots and wooden bowls were traded from the coast in return for feathers and other valuables but with the advent of cheap imported utensils this trade has ceased.

Physical features

133 Topography: The Inonda lands lie partly on the flood plains of the Girua and Sambogo rivers and partly in the

It will be seen that the 7 household heads who have worked have spent a total of 80 years in employment. Only 20 of the 80 years were spent in unskilled occupations, the remainder (as councillors, constables, foremen, drivers, teachers) all carried some element of skill or responsibility.

The formal education of household heads is summarized in the following table.

Table 10

Summary of education of household heads

Household No.	Within own village		Within own district		Other districts		Total	
	Years	Standard reached	Years	Standard reached	Years	Standard reached	Years	Years x standard reached
1	-		-		-		-	0
2	-		-		-		-	0
3	2	1	-		-		2	2
4	5	3	2	4	-		7	28
5	-		-		-		-	0
6	3	1	-		-		3	3
7	6	2	-		-		6	12
8	-		10	8	3	10	13	130
	16	-	12	-	3	-	31	175

Patterns of work

The villagers claimed that they work to a pattern and that Monday and Tuesday are cash cropping days, Wednesday is for mission work, Thursday and Saturday are reserved for the food gardens, Friday is set aside for council work, and Sunday is a day of worship and rest. In fact, however, with the exception of men who are working for wages and have week-ends off, there is little in the way of a weekly rhythm in the organization of work. There is usually a short church service held

125 The sample is necessarily small, and not representative, as there were at the time only three Orokaiva entrepreneurs who had established enterprises of any size without government help. The fourth entrepreneur differs from the others in that he established himself only after obtaining a resettlement block and a government loan.

492 The first indigenous entrepreneur known to engage full time in cash-cropping and trading in the Orokaiva area was Raymond Ogerem who was not himself an Orokaiva man. He was born about 1910 in Bako village near Tarakwaruru (on the coast between Samarai and Cape Killerton) where his father was leader of Kawamasia clan. After only a few months schooling he went to work in Bunting and Company's trade store at Samarai and later at Tufi, Buna and Misima Island; about 1939 he took over a store at Esahambo, about ten miles from Popondetta. Adjacent to the store he acquired a lease of 100 acres of land from the government. Using hired labour he planted eight acres of coffee and about 200 rubber trees before the Japanese invasion in 1942. Though Raymond returned to Esahambo [443] after the invasion was repulsed, he did not remain long before returning to Tarakwaruru where about 1952 he was instrumental in starting a community trade store. He has not returned to the Orokaiva area since then. Raymond is still remembered by almost all the older Orokaiva men, and is described by them as a generous man who they admired for his ability to run a business which up to that time they had thought was the exclusive prerogative of Europeans.

Personal experience of the entrepreneurs

The entrepreneurs A, B and C were eldest sons (and the fathers of at least two were also eldest children). This may be significant as these three have been assisted in the development of their cash crop enterprises by younger brothers who do not require immediate cash payment. The fourth (D) was a youngest son but he did not undertake cash-cropping until he received a government loan.

The two older entrepreneurs, A and B, had no schooling, the younger two had limited elementary schooling. Formal education is [871] largely a function of age for schools have spread only slowly throughout the countryside. It is relevant that all four come from the less populous coastal area where contact has been longest, and none from the more populous inland.

[484] All four entrepreneurs have travelled much more widely than the average person of the district and since adolescence they have all lived mostly outside their village communities.[1] On their return

[1] They have all worked in other districts of Papua-New Guinea, while D has travelled to Australia, and in 1953 attended the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II in London.

Background experience

463 472 871 Education. Although the most successful group of entrepreneurs had all had considerable education (more than three times the average of the other two groups combined), the least successful group had had more schooling than the middle group. This is shown in the following table in which an index of education was ascribed to each person by multiplying years of schooling by standard reached.

Table 1

Index of education

A	20	E	0	I	56
B	63	F	9	J	30
C	15	G	0	K	45
D	9	H	6	L	56
Average	26.7		3.75		46.7

463 472 484 Travel. There may be a positive correlation between travel experience and trading success. All the entrepreneurs had travelled beyond their own district and, as shown on Table 2, the most successful entrepreneurs had travelled more widely than the least successful.

Table 2

Relationship between travel experience and entrepreneurial success

Travel experience	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
Northern and adjacent districts (Morobe and Milne Bay)	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'
More distant districts	'			'			'	'		'	'	'
Australia												'

463 472 464 Paid work. The number of years spent in paid employment correlates negatively with the entrepreneurial success of the sample, as under:

Table 18

Loans received

A $1,500 (land board)	E -	I $200 (from brother-in-law for store)	
B $178 (from younger brother for store)	F -	J -	
C -	G -	K $390 (from brother and share money for store)	
D $1,500 (land board)	H $1,500 (land board)	L -	
75%	25%	50%	

Conclusion

Analysis of the three groups with respect to variables which may be classified roughly as economic and social reveals a degree of differentiation. The data do not enable firm conclusions on whether the different variables of themselves explain the relative success of the sample in trading activities.

The most successful group had fewer economic trees than either of the less successful groups, had considerably higher liquid assets, but fewer traditional valuables. They had more tools and equipment than the traders whose stores were closed, but fewer than the traders who, in this sample,can be classed as moderately successful.

The traders with highest turnover had been in operation for considerably less time than the other two groups, and their stores were more frequently outside the owner's home village. They had received more loans to assist with their stores, and fewer loans from the Land Board than either of the other groups.

With respect to social variables the most successful traders were younger than the other groups. Directly related to their lower age was their higher level of education and their shorter experience of paid work. However, the positions they had held had carried more responsibility and status than those held by the less well educated, younger and less successful entrepreneurs.

They were as often elected to positions of community leadership as the least successful, though the moderately successful most often held such positions, and more often held more than one such position (an achievement never realised by the least successful traders).

Appendix B

The Ombi-Tara environment and population

131 [133] Ombi village is in the Kokoda sub-district about twenty-seven miles from Popondetta along the main Popondetta-Kokoda road. It is situated on top of a plateau up a steep escarpment, about 250 yards from the main road. Tara is about two miles from Ombi and straddles the access road which runs through the converted land occupying part of two of the blocks. It was previously about two miles further away and was moved to its present site in 1964 after survey of the land to be converted was under way.

133 [361] The Kumusi River flows close to the Popondetta-Kokoda road, about four hundred yards from Ombi village. Ombi village was formerly sited next to the river but was moved to its present higher location in about 1957, reportedly to escape the mosquitoes.

871 872 [369] The nearest school is conducted by the Administration at Ajeka, about two miles away. Most children of the appropriate age attend school daily. Several of the older children board at schools in Popondetta while some children do not attend school at all.

366 438 439 The nearest trade store is at Ajeka but this is seldom open, and most purchases are made from the store operated by a European planter at Awala, a distance of seven miles. Clothing and larger items are purchased in Popondetta.

134 The Ombi-Tara lands are part of the Higatura land system which contains a considerable proportion of good land with reasonably fertile soils, suitable for many arable or tree crops as well as pasture.[1]

132 137 The most important features of the climate are the generally heavy rainfall, and the almost uniformly high temperatures and humidities throughout the year. Rainfall ranges from 120 to 150 inches annually and may well be greater in the higher areas, including Ombi-Tara. These climatic features are reflected in abundant plant growth. At Ombi-Tara rainforest covers much of the surrounding land, which is marked by a series of steep ridges.

---

[1] See C.S.I.R.O. 1964.

361
173
[133] coral sand and lumps of dead coral. Although there are mangrove trees on the islands, there would be no possibility of growing food crops there. At some time well before the arrival of white men, the Yega moved from Baroda Deuga and founded a large village, Basabuga, on the eastern shore of Waususu Point. In Basabuga each clan was allocated a specific
[614] area in which family heads built their homes. Probably there were only three original clans, but these were joined at intervals by the ancestors of the other five clans who now make up the Yega parish. Basabuga is in an ideal defensive site, protected on the landward side by mangrove swamps to the south-east, and on the south-western side by swamp filled depressions running parallel to the beach. The sea provided an escape route to the north.

361
[871] By about 1910 when the first school was begun at Waususu Point, some clans had moved eastward or westward and settled in other coastal villages. In each village the male
361 members of a clan lived together with their
614 wives and children, and although there was a good deal of inter-clan contact, the clan village was the main social unit. The main reason for the dispersal of clans from Basabuga was probably population pressure but the enforced cessation of inter-parish warfare undoubtedly contributed. The movement
361 westward along the beach continued until about 1930. People were encouraged to move by the
[657] increasing effectiveness of Government control
[791] and by the establishment at Gona Mission of a school and hospital staffed by Europeans.

[P.12-B]

245
177 b) The production of crops specifically for sale.

c) The acceptance by the indigenes of
[654] supervision and advice from European and
[657] indigenous members of the Agriculture Department: people with whom they had no kinship ties.

d) The location of houses on the blocks.
[423] e) The registration, by some individuals, of freehold title.

245 It is unfortunate that the scheme which appeared so successful in its early stages should have failed largely because of circumstances outside of the people's control.

464 Many Yega have made no attempt to earn
[434] cash from commercial agriculture. From the
166 time of earliest contact with Europeans some of them have left home to work for wages. At the present time, almost one third of them are absent working, studying, or as dependents.

464 Forty-four per cent of all Yega men are away
178 working. Those who are married are accom-
592 panied in almost every instance by their wives
166 and children. This situation represents a marked change from the pre-1940 years when many Yega men worked as indentured or casual labourers and could not take their dependents with them. Nowadays most Yega
[466] work in semi-skilled or skilled occupations in which family accommodation is often provided by employers. Even if accommodation is not supplied, the breadwinner's earnings are apparently adequate to provide living quarters for his wife and children; frequently town accommodation is of poor standard but evidently family life is preferred to separation.

871 The main factor in the marked improve-
178 ment in skills is education. The educational opportunities which have been available to the Yega for nearly fifty years have been exceptionally favourable, when compared with
[797] those of most other New Guineans. A mission school has operated in the area since 1909; since 1932 (except for war years) it has had at least one European teacher permanently on
[464] the staff. This educational background has enabled the younger generation of Yega men to take advantage of opportunities for employment in posts of responsibility and higher income which have become available in increasing numbers during the post-war period.

[P16-B]

based, is alien and seems dubious to Orokaiva. The Europeans claim that a plant needs to be looked after even if it contains no spirit; to the Orokaiva this appears absurd.

Some Orokaiva have been employed by Europeans as carpenters; these men have certain skills upon which a community draws when large community buildings (for instance, the hospital at Sasembata mission station) need to be constructed. The trained carpenter leads such enterprises in the role of expert. There was one such man in Sasembata village; he, like most others of his type, learned his skill in European employment and not in one of the small adult education ventures which the administration has sponsored from time to time (the adult education classes at Ilimo camp were probably the first of this type).

For the rest, the skills acquired by Orokaiva over the last 15 years are largely concerned not directly with village development but rather with an increase of understanding of the world outside. While before the war, only a small minority had school education, the Anglican Mission spread its operations to several new stations, including Sasembata, after the war. After the eruption, the scope of education was again greatly extended and it could be said that the eruption marked the beginning of universal school education in the majority of Orokaiva villages. The Sasembata station began to draw virtually the entire child population of the surrounding villages, and most students now follow a five or six year course. While this development had been planned ever since the war, it may be significant that regular school attendance of all the villages in the district was experienced for the first time at Ilimo, where a school was conducted for the whole evacuee child population, and adult classes as well. It is the objective of present school programmes, as far as I can see, to make the population literate and the increase of literacy is a major aspect of acculturation over the period. Literacy has certainly progressed to a point where letters written in Orokaiva to any family in Sivepe can be read and understood with the help of at least a junior member of the family; and can be replied to. While I could see no evidence that people have acquired mathematical knowledge of any sophistication, I was struck by a strong quantitative orientation. In the Orokaiva language, there are no numerals higher than 2; hence, it is the invariable practise to use English numerals when speaking the Orokaiva language. The numerals are, in fact, among the main English linquistic features that have been borrowed. They are used with remarkable frequency; the number of coffee trees, the value in pounds of trade goods included in a bride price, the calculation of money prices, even the number of brothers or men who together played some role in a mythological tale (a distinctly contemporary touch, this)--all these phenomena show that "numbers" have become an integral part of Orokaiva culture. The Orokaiva use the English word "number" for a variety of quantitative concepts, including price. Finally, one must regard as an aspect of acculturation, the introduction of many

were to hear this message all the time; yet they came to listen and speakers managed to introduce enough news and good oratory to hold general attention. Furthermore, both in discussion after the speeches and later in private, they agreed with a good deal of it. There was no compulsion about this; if they were bored or disagreed, they were apt to slip away, either with an excuse or without one. If they became really tired of a councillor, they need not re-elect him after his two-year term was over. The councillors were the first, I was told, to change the people's thinking. The "committee" were not given to such oratory; people would never have tolerated it; their job was a humbler, purely executive one. But their actions were always in pursuance of the general principles enunciated by councillors; they were made "legitimate" by what the councillors said. "Committee" was definitely not the mouthpiece of Australian authority, but of the council. This was an ambiguous position, as I already pointed out, because the courts on which the councillor depended as ultimate sanction, was Australian-controlled. Nonetheless, at the level of face-to-face relationships, which mattered most, the "committee" had to rely on his own authority.

Some were not very successful; in Sivepe, the "committee" was at the same time clan-leader and feast-leader; it was therefore very hard indeed to ignore him. In villages where the feast-leader stood aloof from the Council structure, the malcontents could gather round him and defy Council authority until the patrol officer intervened. This is what happened in Garoubi, a neighbour-village to Sivepe. Here traditional and modern authority were vested in different persons, whereas in Sivepe both were vested in the same person.

The pattern of religious leadership was much more subtle. First, at Sivepe and Inonda, as in many other places, cooperation with the mission began long before anyone was baptised or even a catechist. At Sasembata, the first phase started after the war. The Orokaiva were glad to have the mission because it provided education for their children (this was the advantage always cited) and no doubt also because of some benefits in the form of European goods. In return for these benefits, the local people helped with land and with labour for buildings, carrying, etc. The man on whose property the rice was grown before the eruption was not, and never became a Christian but died a Pagan in 1963. It was consistent with Orokaiva religious concepts to ask a deacon to bless the seeds of a European crop--the Orokaiva do not know the magic appropriate to this crop, whereas the deacon could be presumed to know.

None of the people now living at Sivepe were baptised before the eruption. After the post-eruption Sasembata station was established a large number of people were soon accepted as catechists and on 6 March, 1963, 1165 people from all parts of the Sasembata district were baptised, including some from Sivepe; there was a second mass baptism in September, 1955, and by this time at least one lineage (or plant emblem group) in Sivepe was wholly Christian. The most senior man in

this lineage was the village constable. Though the records are by no means satisfactory, it is clear that between 1955 and 1963, virtually the whole of the Jegase clan became baptised while in 1963--but only then--the majority of the Seho clan became Christian. The time lag between the clans was not insignificant, as the head of the Seho clan, who refused to be baptised, died in 1963, and it was after his death that the new leader, his son, joined the Church, together with his clansmen. It would be wrong, however, to suggest that it was only the death of the old leader which delayed conversion, because the records for the Sasembata district as a whole show 1962 and 1963 as the years that Christianity became the dominant religion in these villages. Before 1963, the pattern seems to have been similar to the present one in Inonda: one clan or faction was baptised, while the other held out. It was told that it was the old men with a reputation for black magic who felt most disinclined to abandon Paganism, as they feared it would harm their powers.

I shall delay a general discussion on the Church until a later Chapter and confine myself here to a discussion of the impact on community organisation. Undoubtedly, the eruption accelerated the development of some of the Anglican mission stations. While before 1951, the mission in that district was centralised in Sangara, the new centre was in Popondetta, well away from the populous area around the mountain. The major station still operating in the Mount Lamington area was the one at Waseta. In 1951, major stations were established at Sasembata, Agenahambo and Irihambo, while the Hohorita and Isivita stations which followed later completed the coverage. One impetus to the support given to the Sasembata station by the people was undoubtedly the active programme of the church during the evacuation period, when there were daily church services as well as church participation in the education and health field.

One feature that became established during the evacuation period was regular schooling for the young. The extent to which the people recognised this as a momentous change in community life is shown by a ritual introduced about that time and still observed at the present. In 1967, the head teacher announced that school would start on a Thursday but no pupils came. The people told him the children were not ready." The following Sunday, all the children--and only the children--gathered for a "feast"--a common evening meal at which they were obsequiously served by the adults. This was a feast to farewell them, I was told, for the next day they would go away to the school. The measured distance between the village ground and the school ground was six chains. The children were home every night and every lunch hour. Nonetheless, in a more essential sense they were leaving the village to submit to the influence of strangers.

When Sasembata station was reopened in 1951, no community organisation was associated with the church so that the mission teachers had to make contact with villages for any work they wanted done and this was arranged on an ad-hoc basis. Nowadays, there are two forms of

744 one occasion he did complain about weeds growing in one part of the village; he was also involved in a complaint against two men who were living in condemned houses. The first time I saw him in the village he gave an illustrated lecture on the causes of malaria and methods of malaria control. This was received in much the same spirit as any other metaphysical speculations, which people are not yet ready to share.

There is in progress in the Territory a malaria eradication campaign, for which numerous Papuan technicians have been trained and which involves, i.e., the indoors spraying of villages with DDT. While I did not see any such teams in action, I did notice that anti-malarial injections were standard treatment at the infant health clinic that was held close to Sivepe once a month. Attendance at these clinics was general for all mothers with children of pre-school age. Apart from anti-malarial injections, the nurses offered treatment for sores and other minor ailments; they weighed babies and they took seriously ill young children with them to the hospital. While it was easy to induce mothers to come, it was harder to gain acceptance for Western ideas when these conflicted with Orokaiva ones. This applied especially to child nutrition.

[853] The health authorities had successfully campaigned against the Orokaiva custom of premasticating food given to babies; mothers had stopped doing this, as it was considered uncivilised. On the other hand, nobody obeyed the instruction to mash taro before it was given [824] to babies. The mashing of taro offended the spirit of the taro; it was considered out of the question. An alternative suggestion was to give babies pawpaw, considered by nutritionists to be an excellent [262] baby food. But this food was also avoided by Orokaiva, as it was thought to cause scabies. The result was that Orokaiva babies tended to go through a period of critical malnutrition after weaning and before solid taro can be digested. Our own suggestion to Orokaiva mothers--to go back to premastication--was naturally considered to be no more than a bad joke.

Section 4: Social Services: Education

871 797 The education system, like the public health system consists of a government sector which is responsible for the bulk of education expenditure and a mission sector which is responsible for the majority of children. In 1965, the mission educated some 65% of the primary school pupils of Papua and over 60% of all pupils. Mission expenditure from its own funds was given in the Territory of Papua Report (1966: 99) as 8.6% of total expenditure on education. In the Northern District, there were four administration primary schools for Papuans (2,403 pupils in 1967) and 54 mission primary schools (8,547 pupils in 1967). The breakdown (see Table 14)[A] shows that schooling generally continues

A [See Cat. 116, p. 219--Analyst]

871 until the end of Standard 4, but that schooling beyond that level
797 is taken by a far smaller number. A great many mission schools teach only up to Standard 4, so that those who wish to proceed further have to attend a boarding establishment.

872 Sivepe was fortunate in that the nearby Sasembata mission
877 school conducted classes to the end of Standard 6. This was a comparatively recent development; when the school was reopened after the eruption, it still went no further than Standard 4. Most pupils will stay at the local school for the full programme, but some who fail the examinations at the end of Standard 5 drop out. Sasembata School has boarding facilities for students from other mission schools who have to leave home to get education after Standard 4. These are accommodated in dormitories built of bush materials on the mission station.

892 Inonda was less favourably placed. A school opened at Sivepe in 1952 by a Seva mission teacher displaced by the eruption, was closed down in 1959. Today, the nearest school, at Hohota, three miles away, teaches only up to Standard 2. Anyone proceeding beyond that level had to board at Popondetta for further schooling. In 1967, there was one Inonda boy receiving education in Standard 4 at the Popondetta primary school. There were no children at Inonda who had left school at Standard 2 and were hanging about at home; it will be interesting to know how many of the seven children at present in Standard 2 will go to Popondetta next year.

873 Post-primary schooling is available at four institutions in the Northern District (two government, two mission) with a total attendance of 719, but neither Sivepe nor Inonda had students there in 1966-67. At levels above Standard 4, the education system tends to become increasingly selective, with tough examinations to reduce the number of those who take up boarding places at secondary school facilities. External examinations are set for students completing Form II (i.e., Standard 9), Form III and Form IV. For the most successful, university and other advanced training is available; those who have completed
[874] Standard 7 or higher can enter teacher training schools. Two of the post-primary schools in the Northern District are technical schools which train apprentices. Training for nurses is not yet available in the district, except with the mission, which issues no diplomas.

871 Education in most of the Northern District is not yet compulsory, even though legislation exists to enable the government to declare school attendance compulsory in specified areas. Popondetta has been declared an area of compulsory education. It is true, as the government claims, that even where schooling is voluntary, virtually all children enroll and attend from the age of five. The length of attendance depends on the type of education available in various areas; thus, it would generally be longer in Sivepe than in Inonda.

The curriculum, both in the government and mission schools, is very highly standardised and mission education is of necessity dominated by the need to prepare students for government examinations.

871 According to the Papua Report, "The core of the curriculum is training in the basic skills of communication and mathematics." (1966: 100) Of these two subject areas, mathematics is taught by a syllabus which will probably be widely applauded by educationalists. Australia has for some years made important research contributions to mathematical education. One of the most outstanding of Australian educators, Dr. Z. P. Dienes, was invited in 1964 to prepare a mathematics syllabus for Territory schools, introducing the "new mathematics approach." In 1966, this syllabus became officially accepted and the basis of the government examinations. Short courses for practising teachers were held, in the Northern District, during the summer holidays of 1966-67. [895] The Australian mission teacher in charge of Sasembata school also went and came back with a tale which will not surprise connoisseurs of the "new mathematics": he found that the Papuan teachers grasped the principles more quickly than those, like himself, who had been well educated in "traditional" mathematics.

871 191 In the language field, the Australians have taken the fateful decision to make English the language of instruction in schools and the "universal language in the Territory." This is not the place to discuss this strange decision to which S. A. Wurm has recently devoted a clear and authoritative critique which seems to me unanswerable. (1966: 135-148) The key sentence of this critique is that the English language "constitutes a reference system to a culture whose very essence is completely alient to the natives, and it abounds in concepts they cannot even begin to understand on first being confronted by them." The textbooks used in the primary school attempt to overcome this difficulty by an emphasis on formal English, using the structural method, and devoting much attention to the memorising and to some extent the manipulation and transformation of pattern sentences. There is heavy reliance on memory work and very much less reliance on conversational English and creative expression. The teachers explained to me that this bias was inevitable in view of examination pressures. It was amazing, nonetheless, to hear Standard 6 students learning very simple pattern sentences by rote by the whole class saying 20 times or more in unison: "We are going to Paris" (wherever that is). I am not critical at all of the teachers at the Sasembata school, who achieved an impressively high percentage of passes (far above the average) in the government examinations. It is not difficult to understand, however, that these students could not communicate anything very useful in English to, for instance, myself and my wife. The system is, of necessity, a great waste of the children's intelligence. The small minority who later go to Port Moresby or enter European employment will find their knowledge of English useful but the great majority, who need to be equipped for a life in Sivepe and surrounding villages, do not benefit so much from the content of their lessons as from literacy (in their own vernacular), from their experience of the school situation, its relationships and values, and many incidental observations of white customs and attitudes which are most influential acculturative

experiences. The problem remains how ideas bearing on social and economic development can be systematically communicated. When I asked Orokaiva people what language they thought ought to be made official after independence is granted, English was hardly ever suggested. Some said Motu, others Pidgin. I was impressed, however, with the meticulous care the Orokaiva bestow upon their own vernacular. Most of my informants could help me to get Orokaiva texts spelled correctly (and their advice hardly ever conflicted); they were most precise about correcting my grammar and would laugh irrepressibly when a man made a grammatical slip in a speech recorded on tape--this was a joke for days. I would therefore agree with Wurm that a language such as Orokaiva (spoken by at least 25,000) should be used for literacy work and for elementary education.

Teachers are trained both in the mission and the government system, but the mission system is primarily aimed at training in Bible knowledge, religious doctrine and Christian values. In the early years of the mission any promising pupil, with two or more years of elementary schooling, might be chosen for training as a mission teacher. Certainly he would get some coaching in how to teach school, but the emphasis was above all religious. More recently, a number of courses were set up by government and mission teachers were encouraged to enter for such courses. The A course is open to men with a Standard 6 education and takes one year. The B course is open to men with a Form 2 education and takes two years. The administration insists on an A certificate as a minimum qualification; in the Northern District, new appointees were usually expected to have a B certificate. The mission is less fortunate; in 1966 in the Northern District, only 97 out of 274 mission teachers had either an A or a B certificate. Out of the Sasembata staff of 12, five were trained; out of the Hohota staff of four, one was trained.

The educational qualifications of the teachers are one more reason why it is hard to teach with English as the language of instruction; most of these teachers speak little English themselves. English is their third-best language (next to vernacular and lingua franca) and most of them, even if they come from other districts, will still have more command of Orokaiva and Motu than of English. Many of those at Sasembata came from the Coastal district so that their vernacular was not Orokaiva, but a tongue closely akin to Orokaiva. Those who meet their pupils outside school would not speak English to them then, this being the least effective way they would have of communicating with each other.

Teachers' salaries are a subject that has continued to puzzle me. Government teachers are paid according to a scale the bottom of which, in 1965, was $480 per annum. The mission pays $4 per month to Papuan teachers and $12 per month to expatriate teachers. In addition all mission teachers receive free housing, some gardening land to grow taro, occasional distribution of fringe benefits, such as Christmas gifts of used clothing from Australian supporters of the mission. In

875 spite of this vast differential, the mission continues to recruit
[465] certificated teachers who are qualified for government jobs. These men live on the mission stations with their families. The mysterious aspect of the salary question was the payment by the government of a
654 grant-in-aid to the mission in respect of all mission teachers who
797 hold A course certificates or better. The amount payable ranged from $240 per annum to $1000 per annum according to qualifications and skin
895 colour, but in all cases the government paid the mission in subsidy far more than the mission paid the teachers. The only explanation of the disparity I could get was that the Bishop had suggested and the teachers had agreed that all mission teachers work equally hard and well and should be paid the same. Thus, the money received from the government was supposedly shared among all teachers--certificated or not--and the government is apparently not concerned how the mission spends the grants-in-aid.

871 Mission schools are inspected by departmental officers and receive classroom materials on the same basis as Administration schools.
[877] Grants-in-aid are paid to missions for the maintenance of students at a boarding school. There is provision for Local Government Councils to provide school facilities over and above the government minimum standard, and receive government subsidy for these, but this provision was little used in the Northern District. Though a few of the school texts have been prepared by the mission, most materials have been supplied by the Department of Education. These materials tend to be class sets of graded school text books in the basic subjects, English, Mathematics and Social Studies. Little reading material is available
[207] over and above basic texts. Such curriculum enrichment as there is comes mostly from the educational broadcasts which are frequent and produced with great care. In view of the limited training of most teachers, the value of these radio lessons is considerable. In 1965, 38 broadcasts per week were available to school children.

652 In 1967, the government brought in an education tax which was
871 expected to be levied by school principals. The various missions of the Territory were disturbed about this demand, as it would turn them into collection agents for the government. Furthermore, the missions knew the fallacy of the argument on which the government relied for the defence of this tax. It was not true, as the government alleged, that Papuans passively accept education as a handout and feel no obligation to contribute to their children's school education. Orokaiva parents, and notably those of Sivepe, are constantly making substantial contributions. The head teacher at Sasembata told me that in 1966-67 he had received $300 in financial contributions as well as a great deal of labour assistance for the building of new classrooms, new teacher's residences, the hospital, etc. and the building materials necessary for these projects including sago thatch and blackpalm flooring--both of them scarce materials requiring a good deal of labour as well. These contributions if calculated in financial terms would come to a good deal more than the tax of $1 per child the head teacher was

652 expected to levy. He wrote his Bishop that he would not collect the tax. His letter seems to have been only one trickle in a river of
• 871 non-cooperation and I never found out whether the government prevailed over the missions.

871 This controversy casts some light on Orokaiva attitudes to education. By standards of Orokaiva wealth, parents are making a
[431] major voluntary contribution in money, labour and materials, not with the idea of "paying for their children's eduction," but in order to make appropriate return gifts for the services rendered by the mission. The principle governing this transaction is reciprocity, but not contract. Thus, the Orokaiva contribution to their children's educatin differs from a tax in three crucial ways:

(a) It is specifically given to the mission, towards whom the people feel an obligation and not to the government, to which they do not feel beholden for their children's education. (This obstacle could be overcome only if the government succeeded in explaining the Department of Education budget in the villages.)

(b) It is regarded as voluntary, according to the principle
[558] of reciprocity. People contribute from goodwill and generosity, the only possible sanction for a non-contributor being a diminution of social status. (If an education tax is levied, the sanction is refusal to admit children to schools. This rule already applies in administration schools.)

(c) Contributions are made only partly in cash, but consist mainly of labour and materials which are not readily marketable in the villages. (If the payment is entirely in cash, this cash has to be earned outside the village or by cash-cropping. Resources such as sago and blackpalm cannot be used as a contribution to education.)

I have shown at various points in this report that Orokaiva value their children's school education highly. In Sasembata district, the men worked for the mission long before anyone was baptised and their motive was, as they told me, to see that their children could
[829] go to school. When I asked why they wished this, they answered that this was the only chance for the children to be able to obtain the same wealth as the Europeans and become equally powerful. It is consistent with this reasoning that the Orokaiva have never been very disturbed by what may seem to us the strange policy of conducting lessons in the English language. It has so far been enough for the Orokaiva to see that the only Papuans who have obtained wealth and power have been those who were educated in the school and who have
[191] gained some knowledge of English. It is only among the educated Orokaiva that one hears arguments for the Papuans and New Guineans being educated in a language of their own.

Section 4: Social Services

The mission contribution to health and education has been set out in the previous chapter. It is of course the mission rather than the government which has pioneered the social services in the Territory. The first contact the Orokaiva had with Western medicine and education was through the mission sisters and the teachers trained, however inadequately, by the mission. The scholarly inadequacies of the mission teachers, though regretted, had not marred the primary aim of the church which was to inculcate Christian values and introduce some acquaintance with the arts of civilisation. If before the second world war, education was not viewed by the mission as a weapon in the struggle for economic development, it must be remembered that economic development of the Papuans was not deliberately pursued as an objective by the government or any other influential group in the Territory.

At the present time, mission education poses a dilemma. The government school inspectors express their concern over the generally low academic standard of the smaller mission schools. It has now been established as a rough rule that schools, in order to receive government approval (and therefore financial assistance and examination facilities), should have a ratio of trained teachers of at least one in three. The term trained is defined, for the benefit of the mission schools, as meaning the possession of an A certificate. Over the whole of the Northern District, one in three is approximately the average.

There has been no case where the government has actually caused a school to close down. Such action would certainly greatly anger the Anglican authorities, who argue with some force that the government has no practical means to replace the educational service of the missions. It lacks trained personnel, just as much as the mission does. Moreover, it is far more expensive to conduct a government school than a mission school and the government cannot afford this extra expense. Finally the mission argues that for the Papuan, as an essentially religious person, education ought not to be divorced from religion.

Meanwhile, the government is rapidly upgrading its own standards of training. It restricts to the utmost the intake of teachers with A certificates and encourages, by means of salary and other incentives, the obtaining of B and C certificates. It is gradually widening the scale of its operations. At the same time, the government is performing a most valuable service by giving refresher courses to practising mission teachers, thus improving their knowledge and giving them a more professional attitude to their teaching tasks. I watched Sasembata teachers who went to these courses which certainly provided much stimulus. In Hohorita, the mission conducted special classes for adults who lacked a standard 6 education. These were mostly attended by mission teachers who thus became qualified to do further study toward a teacher's certificate. The mission conducted some teachers

462 women can carry produce to market. Coffee, however, is in a different
[562] category because the bags are of a special type, supplied by the coffee
[422] factory and a specifically male property.

Section 3: Education, Occupational Skills, Money Income

241 In the last section, dealing with the division of labour, I
613 did not introduce the question whether there were differences in this
614 respect between the various social groups--lineages and clans. The
main differentiation noted by earlier authors was that between cash-
croppers and those engaging only in subsistence gardening. Now in this
respect there was no noticeable difference between clans in Sivepe:
out of 1,100 coffee trees growing in Sivepe in 1962, 503 belonged to
Jegase and Timumu and the rest to Seho, while in Inonda the coffee
growers belonged to two Andiriha lineages. In Sivepe today most men
grow coffee, and this applies equally to the Jegase, Seho and Sorovi
clans; the exceptions are elderly people. There are, however, very
significant differences in other respects between socio-economic
patterns in the Jegase and Seho clans--differences which are obvious
even on very superficial inquiry.

614 A minor imbalance in the age distribution of the two clans is
561 noticed at once from the statistics: the Jegase householders are
predominantly in the 35-45 year age group whereas Seho is predominantly
a little older (45-55 years). Hence the dance group formed in Sivepe
[535] is at present almost wholly composed of men of the Jegase clan. The
[177] age difference happens to be very significant in various indices of
acculturation, as the first school was established at Sasembata in
[871] 1945, and the custom of looking for wage labour outside the district
[167] did not become widespread until about the same time. While some Jegase
[191] people know some English, none of the Seho people over 35 speak any
at all. Furthermore, the first village constable and the first councillor
in Sivepe were both Jegase men who had taken up employment well before
the second world war. During the years they held these posts (1939-
1965), Seho had much less contact with government.

614 The statistics (Table 20)[A] show that Jegase male adults have
463 slightly more school education than Seho adults but a great deal more
occupational experience. This experience, for both clans, did not
include work requiring much formal training; it was labour on rubber
and cocoa plantations, on the roads, assistance with land surveys,
[177] laundry work, service as a "houseboy," and in the A.P.C. Nonetheless,
an intelligent man thrown into these kinds of situation can find out
a good deal about the outside world; in later dealings with external
agencies, he is able to make more informed judgments. A further
opportunity for such experience was offered the Jegase clan when the
Australian National University, which made Sivepe into a sample village
for several studies (see below, Chapter VII), decided to concentrate

A [See Cat. 116, p. 227--Analyst]

its efforts upon what were then the Jegase and Timuu clans, to the exclusion of Seho. When my wife and I came to Sivepe, Jegase at once claimed us, built our house for us and was ready to perpetuate the familiar "special relationship" before I had a chance to assess the situation.

In terms of economic development, this extra experience of Jegase did not actually make much difference. Seho grew just as much coffee; the Seho clan leader was always in the vanguard for innovations such as the Malayan rubber trees; Seho had about as much money income as Jegase, except that Jegase received more cheques from town workers married to locally resident women. It must be remembered that the educational background of the Jegase men was still rather limited and insufficient to open up the more remunerative avenues of employment. The younger generation of Seho was just as well educated as the younger generation of Jegase; in fact, the only person to have reached Form II was a Seho boy whose father had no schooling but a few years' work experience before marriage.

Finally, the leader of the Seho clan (without schooling, but with brief experience in the A.P.C. before the eruption) made up in shrewdness what he lacked in facility. Europeans who had dealings with Sivepe over land and other issues found him a tough and calculating negotiator who knew as well as anyone how to safeguard the interests of his village and press for whatever blessings of the modern age might become available. As "committee" for Sivepe, he was a stern champion of village decorum. I have seen several other villages which vowed to eliminate pigs, but in these villages one could usually still find a very tiny piglet, so small you could hardly see it, which signified the hardiness of the old dispensation; in Sivepe, one only saw dead pigs. He would have no weeds, no houses out of alignment, no late noise; whatever the Australians chose to define as the spirit of progress, was strictly enforced by this leader.

The younger people are mostly going as far as they can (up to Standard 6) at Sasembata School; so far only one has gone further. One young man, who had finished Standard 6 and a young woman who had done Standard 4, but was intellectually brilliant were regarded in the village as the educated élite; both were just above 20 years of age. They were both from Jegase households; they both helped us considerably as interpreters. It is likely that the Sasembata school produced others as competent, but they would have left for jobs elsewhere.

I have already pointed out that in Inonda there was less homogeneity. One man was markedly more educated than anyone in Sivepe; nearly all had been away on paid employment for long periods (longer than at Sivepe). The educated leader, attracting to himself other men with some education, was able to act as a kind of entrepreneur and thus two different patterns of life became established, emphasised by the persisting neglect of cash-cropping by one section. Two young and vigorous men who might well have grown coffee prefer to depend for cash on temporary plantation jobs.

CHAPTER IV: Acculturation at the Time of Resettlement

177 My concern in this chapter is not to discuss acculturation in general, which has been done already in earlier chapters, but to consider the variations in degree of acculturation that existed between individuals and groups in the sample villages. This is an issue of some importance as the main line of change has not been so much that wholly new culture elements were introduced between 1951 and the present (though there were some of these, too) but that culture elements accepted by an élite in 1951 have become generally accepted today, while other elements again are now in the stage of being accessible to an élite of the younger generation.

There are many innovations which can be adopted by Orokaiva only on a village basis. I have already referred to the changes in house design; such changes were never made individually, though less conspicuous changes (the use of nails rather than bark twine) may be [881] made by an individual. The abandonment of initiation ceremonies can likewise occur only on the basis of a corporate decision. At Sivepa they were abandoned after the war; on the other hand, girls' puberty seclusion and the subsequent ostentatious "coming out party" continued. Also, male initiation was widely replaced by a custom called a "birthday party" which was given to every boy of the age of nine or ten.

[583] Similarly, the inclusion of money in bridewealth is an innovation which, [436] once made in a homogeneous community, is bound to become standard practise. In Sivepa the first such payment was amassed in 1950 and the median payment has been $24 since, without much upward trend, while in Inonda the leading family raised the rate well above this.

On the other hand, much change was the result of individual decisions which were gradually followed by enough individuals to make them into a change of general norm. Thus, girls' puberty seclusion used to last from three to six months; today, it often lasts no longer than three weeks while in Inonda, I was told, it is still shorter. In Sivepa, girls are usually still at school when the first menses begin. The Australian school teacher was most disturbed about the mysterious disappearance of his senior girls at this time and their dubious excuses when they returned to school, which however they did not always do. Until I told him, he did not fully realise that puberty seclusion was still practised in the villages; nobody had told him as they feared he might try to stamp out this custom. Some individuals keep their daughters secluded for months, even today.

797 At the time of the eruption no baptisms had yet occurred at
798 Inonda, and only one, as far as I can find out, in Sivepa--and this man settled at Agenahambo later after a failed marriage. For the Inonda people, the nearest school was at Seva, and one boy (now the

871

government driver) had gone there and continued at Martyr's school at Sangara. He survived because the mountain erupted during the school holidays. At Sivepe, some children had started going to the Jasembata school, opened in 1945, but attendance was irregular. Nonetheless, there were few people under 30 in 1966, who had not had some schooling.

Goods such as meat, sugar, tobacco were known in Sivepe at the time of the eruption, and bought in trade stores; some people used European pots and others used clay pots. By 1966, all regular production of clay pots in Sivepe had ended; they were not even included ceremonially in bridewealth. It was always the young men, away on labouring jobs, who introduced the innovations in material culture, who brought their mothers and new wives European pots, who came home flaunting European clothes, who first used nails in building their houses. In Inonda, at the time of the eruption, the young men were already wearing "trousers"; in Sivepe, this came later, at the time of the local government council. In both villages, this same association was stressed: the European cloths were accepted for village wear at the time the council started and the example was set not only by the bachelors returning from town but also by the councillors themselves. There was a councillor resident in both villages in the years immediately following 1956; it was their influence that tipped the balance in dress innovation.

At the time of the eruption, cash cropping had not yet started at all in Sivepe, but at Inonda, one man (the father of the present government driver) was already selling coffee for which he was paid $3 per bag by the government. The government also bought copra from him which he prepared by breaking up coconuts and drying them in a fire. He stopped this trade at the time of the eruption but resumed in 1954. In Sivepe, coffee growing started in 1956 on two "company" plots. It was in other words a community activity rather than a case of individual entrepreneurship. Rimoldi (1966: 84) reports that individual coffee gardens started in 1957 only after patrol officers advised against having jointly operated ones.

It is not easy to say just how much linguistic knowledge had been absorbed before the eruption, or even now. If one asks a man what languages he knows, he lists all those he has had contact with on his travels; always Motu, not infrequently Pidgin, and also often an assortment of New Guinea languages marking the spots where he has worked. Wherever a man works, he learns some of the language, but his knowledge rarely passes exacting tests. Orokaiva men who said they knew Aiga could not actually translate the Aiga texts I taped into Orokaiva. It would be most interesting to do research on the actual knowledge of these Papuan polyglots. In a country where so many languages are spoken, communication between persons with different vernacular is a crucial process. There is no doubt that travelling Orokaiva make a great effort to adapt themselves to the regions they visit. If they have personal contact with their employers, they learn a great deal from them too. From the data I have presented it is plain that travel has been the major acculturative influence among the Orokaiva.

731 Immediately after the eruption, the Sangara people decided to
[583] waive all bridewealth, so that a large percentage of the women in
[464] Hohorita were married without one. At the present time, bridewealth
[595] is reinstated, and young men go to neighbouring plantations, which are plentiful--or else further abroad--to earn them. While many husbands worked outside Hohorita, most of them were able to return home at weekends. Polygamy was pronounced before the eruption, but it seems that the polygamists became victims of the eruption and polygamy no longer exists as a recognised institution.

871 If the average educational standard at Hohorita is slightly above that of Sivepe, the reasons are: better facilities during the years 1945-1951, loss of many members of the older age groups in the eruption, special efforts made by Bishop Hand at Irihambo to draw Sangara into mission teaching. This higher standard is reflected in the statistics of persons who at one time or another have been in skilled occupations. (Table 21).[A] The persons who returned to Hohorita
434 did so with the express idea of making some money out of coffee; the average income from coffee in Hohorita is certainly far in excess of that in Sivepe (about $100 per annum).

871 Hohorita does feel that it is held back by the present educational provisions which are little better than those in Inonda and much inferior to those at Sasembata. (At Hohorita, there is no schooling beyond Standard 3, whereas Sasembata goes up to Standard 6.) Hohorita people compare the school unfavourably with the government school at the Sangara resettlement block which offers Standard 6, and which, furthermore, has more highly qualified teachers on the staff. My own impression was that the head teacher at Hohorita is a very good man; some of the criticism of him is no doubt due to spite, for he is of local origin. Still, the general criticism of facilities at Hohorita is not unjust.

621 Hohorita is less homogeneous in ethnic origin than the other
563 villages discussed, as the population is drawn from different parts
592 of the Sangara tribe and intermarriage with other tribes has been frequent. The explanation may be found in the pressure, after the disaster, to find mates when most preferred potential marriage partners had died in the eruption. This breaking down of the endogamous emphasis after wars and disasters is, as I pointed out earlier, traditional among the Orokaiva.

423 Heterogeneity was countered to some extent by an arrangement
591 which was, according to informants, made by a popular meeting shortly
582 after the eruption. According to this arrangement women who married outside Sangara, would be allowed the same land rights as though they had been sons. This was done in an effort, so I was told, to add men to the depleted Sangara population. Men would thus be encouraged to settle on Sangara land rather than take their Sangara wives home with them. Two men from the Sasembata district are now living in Hohorita under this arrangement. They keep up normal exchange relations with their home district, e.g., I know one of them lent hambo for the kere

[A] [See Cat. 116, p. 228--Analyst]

22: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1969 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mount Lamington

TABLE 14

ENROLLMENT IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS OF THE
ANGLICAN MISSION IN THE NORTHERN DISTRICT

871
872

Source: Department of Education, Popondetta

	1966	1967 (Est.)
Preparatory Classes	1,775	1,845
Standard 1	1,290	1,307
Standard 2	1,563	1,581
Standard 3	1,278	1,298
Standard 4	1,275	1,310
Standard 5	693	708
Standard 6	488	498
TOTAL	8,362	8,547

Note: Some schools offered classes up to Standard 2, some up to Standard 3, some up to Standard 4, while only a few schools offered classes beyond that level. Children unable to obtain transfers to schools offering classes at a higher level might stay at school for a year or more after finishing the highest available grade. This explains the unusual statistical pattern.

TABLE 20

871
463

EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONAL EXPERIENCE OF THE JEGASE AND SEHO CLANS OF SIVEPE COMPARED--ADULT MALES ONLY

Approximate Period	Education		Occupational Experience	
	Seho	Jegase	Seho	Jegase
Nil	6	6	4	5
1 year	-	1	1	2
2 years	-	2	1	-
3 years	-	1	-	-
4 years	-	2	-	2
5 years	-	-	-	1
6 years	-	1	-	-
7 years			-	-
8 years			-	-
Over 8 years			-	4
Data vague	2	1	2	-
TOTAL	8	14	8	14

tion to the mission station. The government had demonstrated in the most tangible way that it accepted broad responsibility for the people's welfare in a time of crisis and would act with great generosity in such circumstances. The mission, which likewise had established close relations with the people of Ilimo, had subsequently remained to develop those relations.

As a control group for the study, I used the small village of Inonda, 12 miles from the crater and outside the restricted zone. Inonda differed from Sivepe in that its population was never evacuated or relocated. It continued to use its own land. The comparison of Sivepe and Inonda thus provides a measure of the effects of actual relocation as distinct from other experiences the two villages had in common. In Inonda only one-fifth of the land is arable; none of it is as fertile as the volcanic loam of the Mount Lamington foothills; rainfall is lower than in Sivepe and so distributed that lengthy droughts are not uncommon. Drainage is inferior while population density is only ten persons per square mile.

Inonda acted as host for the population of Sewa village who fled their homes on the morning of the eruption. Among the fugitives was a mission teacher who set up a school in Inonda. When he was later transferred to another district, Inonda pleaded fervently and successfully to get him back. Today Sunday services are given by a lay preacher and children attend a mission school several miles away which teaches up to grade two.[10] Interaction with government and mission authorities was far less intensive at Inonda than at Sasembata.

The third village I studied was Hohorita (population 348), 7 miles from the volcano, with soil largely similar to Sivepe's, good rainfall, good drainage, and a population density of 135 persons per square mile. Hohorita is made up of the survivors of the Sangara tribe, once 4,000 strong, which was almost entirely wiped out by the eruption. The survivors were evacuated to camps along the coast and then allowed to return to the boundary of the restricted area, where they built a village called Irihambo. They were ordered to leave this village some years later (as it was situated on crown land intended for the settlement of Australian ex-servicemen) and then established Hohorita in 1957–1959. The Hohorita people, like other relocated groups, had had intensive contact with government and mission personnel. An unusually large number entered skilled occupations, partly because the San-

24: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1973) 1977
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

10. Compare this with the school at Sasembata, which teaches to grade six.
11. A small band of Orokaiva captured European fugitives, including male and female missionaries, and handed them over to the Japanese. The members of this band came from the area east of Mount Lamington inhabited by what Williams called the Sauaha tribe.
12. Though the Sumbiripa cycle of myths was not noted by Williams, I feel confident it existed prior to 1951, partly on evidence given in Schwimmer (1969) and partly on the evidence of a myth recorded in Belshaw (1951).
13. For sources on Orokaiva leadership, see Reay (1953) and Schwimmer (1967).
14. The term "Waseta tribe" used by Williams is perhaps unfortunate, as I demonstrated elsewhere (Schwimmer 1969:49–53). It is used here for the sake of convenience to group together the people from the Waseta area, all of whom were quartered at Ilimo evacuation camp. The name "Waseta" is not used as a tribal name by Orokaiva; it denotes no more than the village where Williams happened to do his fieldwork.
15. See also Waddell and Krinks (1968:16, fn. 3). In the final section of this chapter, I argue that the geophysical explanation is important for anthropological analysis, since it foreshadows structural change in the Orokaiva cognitive system.
16. These two oppositions are, as I understand it, singled out for detailed study in most of the chapters in this comparative volume. Unfortunately, a more detailed discussion is impossible in this chapter. Transactions between government and people during the relocation process have been described fully in Schwimmer (1969), including the massive administration intervention in the evacuation camps, the changes of location of government and mission centers after the eruption, and the gradual widening of the scope of government and mission activities. In my earlier report, I also referred in detail to the manner in which the relation between whites and Papuans is mediated by Papuan mission teachers, village constables, and other functionaries. On an ideological level the entire 'new age' rhetoric discussed in this chapter may be regarded as a form of mediation between microsystem and macrosystem.

    With regard to boundary maintenance, empirical evidence is available in my earlier report about the relations between the evacuees and the people among whom they lived. At Ilimo something akin to traditional friendly host-guest relations were established. I stress in the present essay the ambiguity of the boundary maintenance patterns. There is an ideology advocating unity and there is increasing evidence of common action, especially in the context of formal organizations set up under the influence of administration and mission, while individual webs of intertribal relationships tend to become denser as a result of migration associated with schooling, employment, and so forth. At the same time, tribalism is still the underlying principle in most transactional contexts.
17. This does not contradict my earlier statement (1969:66) that there was a brief period when the evacuees feared the government would take their land. Kaad reported to me that this fear existed, and I do not doubt it. In